

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00332 01 OF 02 211554Z

51

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 IO-04 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AECE-00 AEC-05

CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-01 OMB-01 PA-01

PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 /074 W
----- 062612

P R 211435Z OCT 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0521

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0110

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0332

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD OCTOBER
14-20, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES MOVED DURING THIS WEEK OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS TO RESURFACE A SLIGHTLY REVISED VERSION OF THE EASTERN "FIRST STEP" PROPOSAL OF THE THIRD ROUND, CHARACTERIZING IT AS A FORMAL PROPOSAL OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOUR WARSAW PACT DIRECT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00332 01 OF 02 211554Z

PARTICIPANTS. THE NEW PROPOSAL, ADVANCED AT THE OCTOBER 15

INFORMAL MEETING, PROVIDES FOR EQUAL-NUMBER REDUCTIONS OF 20,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE, TOGETHER WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING ARMS AND COMBAT EQUIPMENT, WITH THE US AND SOVIETS TO REDUCE BY 10,000 MEN EACH IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1975 AND THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE BY 10,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1975. THE INITIAL AD HOC GROUP (AHG) REACTION WAS THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL CONTAINED A NUMBER OF NEW NEGATIVE POINTS AND, IN SUBSTANCE, VERY CLOSELY RESEMBLED THE EARLIER "SYMBOLIC REDUCTION" IDEA AND "FIRST STEP" PROPOSAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WAS FELT THAT THERE WERE SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS, SUCH AS THE CLEAR DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN US AND SOVIET FORCES AND THOSE OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. ALLIES AGREED TO TRY TO SHOW THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL WHILE TRYING TO PLUCK OUT AND BUILD ON ITS POSITIVE POINTS. AT THE OCTOBER 15 INFORMAL THE WEST INTRODUCED ITS IDEAS ON GROUND FORCE REDEFINITION. THE EAST HAD NO IMMEDIATE REACTION. IN OCTOBER 17 PLENARY, THE SOLE STATEMENT WAS PRESENTED BY GDR REP OESER AND BROKE NO NEW GROUND. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER TWO WEEKS OF DESULTORY EXCHANGES ON THE WHOSE FORCES FROM THE OUTSET ISSUE, AND FOLLOWING SUMMARY TYPE STATEMENTS BY EACH SIDE OF THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV MOVED AT THE OCTOBER 15 INFORMAL MEETING TO RESURFACE A SLIGHTLY REVISED VERSION OF THE EASTERN FIRST-STEP PROPOSAL OF THE THIRD ROUND. THE FIRST STEP PROPOSAL WAS PRESENTED AS A FORMAL PROPOSAL OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOUR WARSAW PACT DIRECT PARTICIPATING STATES.

3. KHLESTOV SAID THAT, IN THE INTEREST OF MAKING PRACTICAL PROGRESS AND IN CONTINUING TO ADHERE TO THEIR BASIC PLAN, THE EASTERN GOVERNMENTS SPECIFICALLY WISHED TO PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING:

A. THE ARMED FORCES OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00332 01 OF 02 211554Z

BE REDUCED IN 1975 BY A TOTAL OF 20,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE TOGETHER WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING ARMS AND COMBAT EQUIPMENT.

B. THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE REDUCED BY 10,000 MEN EACH. THOSE OF THE FRG AND POLAND MIGHT "F INSTANCE" BE REDUCED BY 5,000 MEN EACH.

C. THE REMAINING 5,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE WOULD BE DIVIDED UP AMONG THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON EACH SIDE. THE AMOUNTS OF REDUCTION TO BE TAKEN BY EACH WOULD BE SPECIFIED IN THE AGREEMENT.

D. US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS WOULD BE TAKEN IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1975. THOSE OF THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE TAKEN IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1975.

E. AGREEMENT ON THESE REDUCTIONS WOULD BE EMBODIED IN A SEPARATE AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD CONTAIN AN OBLIGATION BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT FURTHER, MORE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS.

F. IN RESPONSE TO A FOLLOW-UP QUESTION, KHLESTOV ADDED THAT THE AGREEMENT WOULD SPECIFY BOTH AMOUNTS AND TYPE OF EQUIPMENT TO BE REDUCED BY EACH PARTICIPANT, AND SHOULD INCLUDE ALL TYPES OF FORCES IN THE AREA -- GROUND FORCES, AIR FORCE UNITS AND UNITS ARMED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00332 02 OF 02 211613Z

51

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 IO-04 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AECE-00 AEC-05

CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-01 OMB-01 PA-01

PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 /074 W

----- 062834

P R 211450Z OCT 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0522

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0111

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA 0002

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0332

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

4. FOLLOWING HIS PRESENTATION, KHLESTOV STRESSED THE FORMAL CHARACTER OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AND REQUESTED THE ALLIES TO PROVIDE A CONSIDERED RESPONSE AT THE OCT. 22 INFORMAL. ALLIED REPS THEREFORE LIMITED THEMSELVES TO A PRELIMINARY REACTION, NOTING AS POSITIVE ASPECTS THE DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN THE US/USSR AND THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, AS WELL AS THE PROVISION FOR TWO SEPARATE PHASES OF NEGOTIATIONS. ALLIED REPS

ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE PROPOSED DIFFERENTIATION IN THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00332 02 OF 02 211613Z

TREATMENT OF THE US AND USSR AND THAT OF REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS DID NOT GO FAR ENOUGH. MOREOVER, THE MAIN DEFECT OF THE PROPOSAL CONTINUED TO BE THAT IT WAS BASED ON AND WOULD SERVE TO PERPETUATE THE EXISTING INEQUITABLE RELATIONSHIP OF GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA.

5. IN A DISCUSSION OCTOBER 16, THE AD/HOC GROUP CONCLUDED THAT, IN SUBSTANCE, THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL DID NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFER FROM THE "SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS" IDEA AND "FIRST STEP" PROPOSAL ADVANCED BY THE EAST DURING THE SECOND AND THIRD ROUNDS. THE FRG AND UK REPS STRESSED THE "FORMAL" CHARACTER OF THE PROPOSAL, CONCLUDING THAT THIS WOULD REQUIRE DIFFERENT ALLIED TREATMENT THAN OF THE INFORMAL "FIRST STEP" PROPOSALS, AND THAT THIS MIGHT MAKE IT HARDER TO MOVE THE EAST FROM ITS NEW POSITIONS. IN COMPARING THE "INITIAL REDUCTION" PROPOSAL TO THE "FIRST-STEP" PROPOSAL, FRG, ITALIAN, UK AND BELGIAN REPS NOTED THAT THE NEW PROPOSAL OMITTED EARLIER IDEAS OF GLOBAL CEILINGS, OF DEFERRAL OF NUCLEAR AND ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS AND OF THE EXCEPTION FOR LUXEMBOURG FORCES IN REDUCTIONS; MOREOVER, FRG FORCES WERE SINGLED OUT, THE "BULK" OF WESTERN REDUCTIONS EARLIER INDICATED FOR US AND SOVIET FORCES WAS NOW SPECIFIED AS ONLY 10,000 EACH OF THE TOTAL 20,000 EQUAL NUMBER REDUCTIONS FOR EACH SIDE. HOWEVER, THERE WAS AN AGREEMENT THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO BUILD ON THE PROPOSAL'S CLEAR DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS AND REDUCTIONS BY OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, AS WELL AS ON EASTERN READINESS TO PERMIT COMPLETION OF US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS BEFORE IMPLEMENTATION

OF REDUCTIONS BY OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

6. THERE WAS AN AHG CONSENSUS THAT THE APPROPRIATE ALLIED RESPONSE AT THE OCTOBER 22 INFORMAL WOULD BE TO SAY THAT THE "INITIAL REDUCTION" PROPOSAL WAS ONLY A FORMALIZATION OF EARLIER IDEAS, THAT THE WEST HAD SINCE THEN MADE 2 OR 3 NEW MOVES, AND TO REPEAT STANDARD WESTERN ARGUMENTS AGAINST SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS IN AN EFFORT TO INDICATE THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF EASTERN PROPOSAL, WHILE PICKING OUT THE POSITIVE POINTS ABOUT US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS. THE ALLIES ALSO WOULD COMMENT NEGATIVELY REGARDING THE EQUAL NUMBER REDUCTION ELEMENT BUT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00332 02 OF 02 211613Z

THEN RETURN QUICKLY TO THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE IN ORDER TO AVOID DISCUSSION OF RATIOS OF REDUCTIONS.

7. US AND UK REPS DREW ON THIS APPROACH DURING THEIR RESPECTIVE OCTOBER 17 BILATERALS WITH SOVIET REPS KHLESOV AND SMIRMOVSKY, AND POLISH REP STRULAK. IN RESPONSE, KHLESTOV SAID BOTH THE US AND USSR AGREED THAT SOME SPECIFIC MOVEMENT WAS NECESSARY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR VIABILITY AND, WITH BOTH SIDES ADHERING TO THEIR ORIGINAL POSITIONS, THE SOVIETS HAD ADVANCED AN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP WHICH WOULD NOT PREJUDICE THE OVERALL POSITION OF EITHER SIDE. KHLESTOV DISPARAGED WESTERN LINKAGE PROPOSALS AS "INSUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONS TO A STARTING POSITION WHICH WAS EXTREME IN ITS UNREALISM." IN CONTRAST, HE CLAIMED THAT THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL HAD MOVED TO MEET WESTERN INTERESTS IN AGREEING THAT THE US AND SOVIETS SHOULD REDUCE FIRST WITH OTHER REDUCTIONS TO FOLLOW, AND IN MAKING EXPLICIT THE AMOUNT OF REDUCTIONS PROPOSED. KHLESTOV ADDED THAT THE EAST WAS FLEXIBLE ON ITS PROPOSAL THAT THE WEST GERMANS AND POLES TAKE THE SAME AMOUNT OF REDUCTIONS.

8. IN HIS BILATERAL WITH STRULAK, UK REP ROSE ARGUED THAT THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL PROVIDED FOR NEITHER GLOBAL CEILINGS, SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS NOR LINKAGE PROVISIONS COMPARABLE TO WESTERN ASSURANCES REGARDING A SECOND NEGOTIATING PHASE. STRULAK HAD NO REAL REPLY TO THE LINKAGE POINT, ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE EAST SOUGHT SUB-CEILINGS AND EXPRESSED THE POLISH WISH TO REDUCE BY A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT -- ABOUT 5,000 MEN; HE THOUGHT THE FRG SHOULD REDUCE BY A CORRESPONDING AMOUNT. WHEN ROSE REFERRED TO THE COMMON CEILING AND THE NEED FOR ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS, STRULAK SAID BOTH SIDES SHOULD AVOID THEORETICAL CONCEPTS LIKE THE COMMON CEILING AND EQUAL PERCENTAGES, BUT INDICATED THAT THERE COULD BE DISCUSSION OF OTHER WAYS OF EXPRESSING SUCH REDUCTIONS.

9. AT THE OCTOBER 17 PLENARY MEETING, THE SOLE STATEMENT WAS MADE BY GDR REP OESER. IT DEALT IN STANDARD EASTERN TERMS WITH THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE, BROKE NO NEW GROUND AND WAS OBVIOUSLY DESIGNED TO MARK TIME PENDING A WESTERN REACTION TO THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL. SOVIET DELOFF

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00332 02 OF 02 211613Z

SHUSTOV TOLD FRG DEP REP HOFMANN THAT THE EAST WAS QUITE SATISFIED WITH THE NEW PLENARY SPEAKING SCHEDULE IN WHICH EACH SIDE SPOKE ON ALTERNATIVE WEEKS.

10. IN OTHER BUSINESS, THE AHG REPS USED THE OCTOBER 15 INFORMAL MEETING TO SUMMARIZE THE WESTERN POSITION ON THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUED AND TO INTRODUCE ALLIED IDEAS ON GROUND FORCE RE-CATEGORIZATION. THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE EASTERN REPLY .

11. COMMENT: THE SOVIET PURPOSE IN RESUSCITATING THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL IS NOT YET CLEAR. ALLIED SPECULATION CENTERS ON THE EASTERN WISH TO AVOID ADVANCING FRESH INITIATIVES, PENDING THE APPROACHING VISITS TO MOSCOW BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AND FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND TO MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE FOR REDUCTIONS OF BUNDESWEHR FORCES FROM THE OUTSET. THE EAST ALSO SEEMS TO BE EMPLOYING THE FIRST STEP AS A MANIFESTATION OF THE "MOVEMENT" CALLED FOR BY THE WEST AND TO UNDERMINE BOTH THE ALLIED PHASING AND COMMON CEILING CONCEPT. END COMMENT. RESOR

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MBFRV00332
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740299-0556
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741031/aaaaazwt.tel
Line Count: 310
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 MAR 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <22 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD OCTOBER 14-20, 1974
TAGS: PARM, MBFR
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005